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586 the latter uses the article in question he or she is overcome with
832 desire for the other.

587 A widow always marries her husband's brother or some member of his kin. If she does not, she risks the accusation that she killed her husband for the love of another man. A widower frequently, but not necessarily, marries his wife's sister.

592 The family is therefore composed of a man and his one or more
597 wives and their unmarried children. Each family has its own house and seldom shares a house with adult individuals other than the spouses and their unmarried children. No case was recorded of an adult male (with the exception of young suitors) occupying a house jointly with another adult male. If several adult women are living in the house they are always found to be wives or concubines of the man of the household. Children of deceased rela-
[582] tives are, however, often adopted. Practically every individual in the community over the age of about twenty is married or has
[736] definite plans to be married. Universal matrimony thus obviates dependency occasioned by old age as well as loneliness. Children of one or the other of the spouses by previous marriages may be included in the family group. If both parents of young children die, they are usually adopted by the maternal grandparents. The family, composed of spouses and their own and adopted children, is thus coterminous with the household.

595 A man may take additional wives if he can persuade their fathers that he can care for them. There seems to be little objection on the part of the brothers or kinsmen of the first wife, if she is not mistreated. Aside from the type of polygamy in which the several wives live in the same household, several cases were recorded of men who were maintaining two households, each in a separate settlement.

Within the household there exists no formal distinction between
(858) children of polygamous or subsequent marriages, and a child's position in the family depends largely upon its personality and age. The same is true of wives in polygamous families.

594 Three means of entrance to the family group are possible: birth, adoption, and marriage. A man is born into a household, and lives there until he is ready to marry, whereupon he establishes a household of his own. The position one occupies in the household group, therefore, depends upon whether the group in question

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Families and Households. We have already seen the distribution of the inhabitants among the several houses of the settlement, the location of the houses themselves in relation to each other, and the blood groupings within the settlement. I shall now describe briefly the organization of the settlement by families.

At the time this study was made there were eleven married groups living in the settlement. Although no elaborate marriage ceremony is practised, there is no doubt in the minds of the natives as to which persons are mated. The general pattern for marriage is described in the section on the Sociology of the Caribs. so I shall not repeat it here.

Miller, the headman, is at present married to Elizabeth, the daughter of David. Also living in his house are Charlotte, Elizabeth's sister, and Mary, the sister of Miller's deceased first wife. Elizabeth is young and buxom, handsome by Carib standards, and perhaps twenty-two years old. She has as yet given birth to no children by Miller, and this is the first formal marriage relationship into which she has entered. She is the only one of the three women whom Miller calls "puitu," wife. It is upon Elizabeth that Miller showers his most ostentatious affection; he boasts about her; when he goes on trips, for instance to Towakaima portering a load for me, he takes Elizabeth as his travelling companion in preference to his other two women. To her go the best of his earnings and trinkets; for example, of the presents which I made him from my stock of trade goods, the best cloth and the best beads were given by him to Elizabeth. And Miller desires children by the comely Elizabeth. During one month, for instance, he took occasion to draw my attention repeatedly to the protuberance of the Elizabethan abdomen, a condition which appeared to my unconcerned eye to be merely another example of the general "potbelliedness" almost universally observable in both sexes, but which Miller delighted in considering as evidence of pregnancy. Great was his eventual disappointment in discovering that his wife was again menstruating at the regular period. Miller and Elizabeth have been living together for about a year.

Old Mary and Charlotte also live in Miller's house. Mary is a middle aged woman, apparently beyond the child bearing age. She is the widow of a man formerly living at Haiari settlement.

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595 Her husband died and she came to live with her sister, Miller's
587 wife, who was then alive. It seems that her former husband was a classificatory brother of Miller, so that her appearance in the Miller household may be ascribed either to the levirate or to blood ties which led her to make her home with her closest female relative. According to other members of the settlement, she lived sexually with Miller while his first wife was still alive, but that phase has now passed. At the present time she is a rather pathetic old woman who wears an unconsciously humorous expression of utter futility and hopelessness on her features, an expression which apparently has some foundation in her circumstances of life. For now she is a sort of maiden aunt in Miller's household. Having no living children of her own, she is entrusted with the care of Miller's small children, is relied upon for much of the heavy labor in the field and about the house, and assumes much of the responsibility for the management of the household. And of the luxuries of life she gets the smallest share. Miller speaks of her as of an obligation, but one has the distinct impression that he realizes the practical value of old Mary, who relieves the more attractive Elizabeth of some of the disfiguring labor which would otherwise fall on her shoulders.

595 Charlotte has only recently been taken into Miller's household.
582 She is a young girl, not more than fifteen or sixteen, who has only recently accomplished the physical change into womanhood. In fact she is the only young marriageable woman in the settlement. Columbus, a young man of perhaps twenty-two, is forced to take as wife the little girl Susan, who has not yet reached puberty, although Charlotte would be just the mate for him were it not for Miller's selfishness. Now the exact status of Charlotte in Miller's household was in the process of change at the time of my residence in the settlement. Miller steadfastly refused to admit that she was a "puitu" (wife), but merely said in an evasive manner that he "was keeping her" because her sister Elizabeth could look after her in Miller's house better than David (Charlotte's father) could in his house, since the latter had married another woman following the death of
622 Charlotte's mother. But the fact remains that Miller, acting on
595 the multiple authority resulting from his position as headman of the settlement, head of his own household, and the strongest

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personality of the group, has refused to turn her over to Columbus. David says that he has "given her" to Miller. And it is certain that she is subject to the sexual attentions of Miller. My negro cook, Henry, who slept in a house near Miller, where he could observe the nighttime occurrences in the headman's domicile, took a morbid pleasure in reporting to me confidentially each morning Miller's preference of the night before. On the occasions when he had observed Miller enter the hammock of Charlotte, Elizabeth could usually be observed the following morning weeping or acting otherwise in a depressed way. During my stay at Sawari, Miller's attentions to Charlotte increased in frequency. On two occasions the observing cook reported that Miller had left Elizabeth's hammock almost immediately after entering it and had gone to Charlotte's hammock. On the days following these events, Elizabeth was exceedingly dejected. Also, the last present given by me to Miller, was turned over by him to Charlotte in preference to Elizabeth. During the course of this romance within Miller's household, if it may be so called, I noticed a definite increase in assurance and poise on the part of Charlotte. From these sidelights of Carib family life, we may gain some insight into the workings of personal interaction, emotionalism, and formal status in a polygamous household. Whether or not Charlotte is the wife of Miller in name, she is certainly at least a concubine in fact. As regards her household activities, on the other hand, Charlotte takes a slightly inferior position. That is to say, she is under the direction of Mary and Elizabeth in the activities concerned with field-work and house-work.

Concerning the personalities of the three women in Miller's household, then, we see that Elizabeth is nominal head of the female side of household affairs. She, however, is greatly influenced in practical matters by the advice of Mary, whose greater age and experience she respects, while at the same time she has no reason to feel antagonism toward Mary as a sexual rival. Mary is nominally in the secondary position of rank and authority, but because of the circumstances enumerated above, is able to exert the strongest personal influence of all the three women in matters which are not involved with Miller's sexual feelings. Charlotte nominally is the subordinate one of the three women, but, due to her apparently increasing hold on the affections of Miller

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554 595 gradually gaining more and more actual importance in the household. She is now well on the way to being a serious rival of Elizabeth as nominal mistress of the household. All of this is not to say, however, that the rivalry between the women of this polygamous household has as yet, at least, reached the point of open hostilities.

159 Miller himself is a forceful personality, known far and wide by reputation in the Barama country. To some extent this reputation is the result of the following series of exploits, partly told me by Miller himself, partly by other Indians, and by Mr. Pestano. About 1920 Miller, his brother Alec (who now lives at Haiari), and their father visited a cassiri spree at Towakaima settlement. The spree was given by an Indian, one Robert, an older man with an attractive young wife. In the course of events the discerning eye of Miller observed the charms of Robert's wife, and Miller devoted most of his attention to her. About midnight the spree came to an end, as such affairs usually do, with the exhaustion of the liquor supply, and the participants betook themselves to their hammocks. Robert escorted his wife to her hammock, which was near his, but when she thought that her husband was asleep, she got up and repaired to a prearranged rendezvous with Miller in the bush near the settlement. Robert woke up, noticed her absence, searched her out, and proceeded to give her a terrific beating. Miller objected to Robert's beating the woman, to which Robert retorted that he was well within his rights (as he was) and that he intended to do the same with Miller when he finished with his wife. Thereupon Miller attacked the old man who, with the strength of an outraged husband knocked Miller down. (This part is omitted in Miller's version of the tale.) Attracted by the commotion, Miller's father and Alec, his brother (who is the tallest man I measured in the territory), joined in the fight against Robert. As Robert was being overpowered, he seized his cutlass and lashed out, giving them several wounds, the scars of which are still visible on Miller's and Alec's faces and bodies. Miller and his kinsmen replied with their cutlasses and soon had beaten Robert to the ground. Robert's older son was a coward and fled into the bush, leaving his father to the mercy of the attackers. Blood was over everything. But Robert had a little boy about six years old who did not run away. Robert also had a muzzle

of children occurs throughout the segments of this population. The Air Strip population of 333 has 164 or 49.0 percent under ten. The remaining population of 218 in the satellite settlements includes 117 under ten. This is 53.7 percent of this portion of the population. As is apparent, the increase in population size and the change in reproductive pattern responsible for it have occurred commonly among the Upper Barama River Carib population.

With regard to the current reproductive pattern, a married state continues to be common for all adults of reproductive age. Also, there are no restrictions on the sexual activity of married couples, and the practice of couvade which rendered a father inactive in all ways for a few weeks after the birth of his child is being abandoned. Extramarital sexual encounters are common among all ages. Nevertheless, young women become pregnant for the first time usually between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two. After this, they have about twenty-five reproductive years during which a woman tends to give birth to a child every twenty to thirty months.[12] According to this pattern, every fertile woman has the potential to reproduce about twelve to thirteen children.[13] The women in monogamous as well as polygynous unions tend to realize this potential. Solien de González (1966) has suggested that long term, intensive lactation may supress ovulation. Although the interplay of behavioral and physiological factors may be complex, the reproductive results in this case are clear.

In the general ratio of women to children in the total population, there are eighty-two women between the ages of twenty and forty-four,

175 kinsmen tended to settle near each other. At times such as during
47K the field days held for poisoning a creek for fish, all the men and
593 women in one location would cooperate (Gillin 1936:11-12). Gillin
605 reports that the extent of mutual cooperation among "parallel kins-
[621] men" made these stronger bonds than that between a man and his son-
in-law (1936:97), and aggregations of their households composed a
settlement such as Savari.

175 At the time Gillin visited Savari, it was composed of three clear-
592 ings or aggregations of cooperating households. The largest of these,
621 John Miller's clearing, included seven adult men (1936:117-125).
Miller, about forty, was prominent among them. He had had a previous
[595] marriage but currently had a new young wife and was acquiring her
younger sister as well. His father-in-law was an old man, David.
Two of Miller's widowed sisters had recently attracted into the group
two brothers, Henry and Samuel. Their other brother, Colombus, with
his child bride was also present. Two young men, Joseph, a son-in-
law of David, and Joseph, a son of David, completed the group of men.
175 All of these had apportioned plots in a field Colombus and Miller
47K had originally cut and David and his son Joseph had enlarged. The
621 temporary partnership in fields was dissolving as the newcomers to
Savari were establishing fields of their own (Gillin 1936:134).
Other mutual assistance such as hunting and canoe building was con-
ducted between various men in this clearing and those in the other
clearings on an individual basis according to the inclinations and
the sway of influence to which each man was subjected.

*177 592 621 sons-in-law. The fourth consisted of a man, about fifty, his wife and children and his old father and mother. Lastly, one man, also about fifty, has had his father-in-law with two adult sons and all [622] their wives and children move into his cultivated field. This last residence situation had persisted for about two years when the Amerindian Captain called attention to it as a case of excessive exploitation.

• [595] Aranka, on the other hand, is outstanding in that one man maintains five wives who have had, to date, thirty-six children. He is the center of one large clearing with his various fathers-in-law and sons-in-law around him. In addition, two new clearings of Karisho people were being established at Aranka in the spring of 1971. One was inhabited by a nuclear family, another by a nuclear family extended by the wife's old father and his crippled wife. A young man who is deaf and dumb and moves about from relative to relative was also living in this last clearing. He is the old man's brother's [166] son. To some extent, this residence pattern is the result of the abbreviation of the continual movement of households due to the advantageous location near the center of external resources, and the market opportunities at this center have tended to dissolve the ties of general reciprocity between men in different clearings as will be discussed at a later point.

The residence situation at the Air Strip is more complex than that in either satellite settlement. The households of previous miners and households from the more remote areas have moved there. Currently, there are twenty clearings. Their general locations

merged as one category. With the economic isolation of households, these people are no longer living and working together. The replacement of individuals in these categories no longer appears to be a compelling demand of the organization for subsistence. Mortality has been greatly reduced by medical programs and external subsistence resources. Divorce now tends to occur only as a casual event among very young couples. Consequently, no current data on the practice of the levirate and the sororate is available. Sororal polygyny does occur. Among the established marriages among the Air Strip population, there are thirty-eight monogamous unions. Of the sixteen plural marriages consisting of a man and two wives, twelve are cases of sororal polygyny. There are two groups of a man and three wives. In one case, two of the wives are sisters. In such families, the children tend to continue to call their mother's sister "mother."

The replacement of broad generational bonds with more circumscribed trans-generational bonds is evident in the separate designation of the individuals in the first ascending generation. It is also apparent in ego's generation. For the male ego, mother's sister's son, whether or not he is a half sibling, is placed among the three middle generations depending on his age relative to ego. If this person is older, even a year or so, he is designated mother's brother.[9] If he is about the same age or a little younger, he is called little brother. An individual in this relationship who is a year or more younger is called nephew. The kinship categories for independent and dependent partners in the relationship between ego and mother's sister's son are provided. Previously, associational ties existed